

NATIONAL RECORDER.

"Nec aranearum sane textus ideo melior, quia ex se fila gignunt, nec noster vilior quia ex alienis libamus ut apes."

VOL. II. Philadelphia, December 11, 1819. No. 24.

The temperate justice and conciliating moderation of *Rufus King*, in his observations on the slave trade (see p. 385), remind us very much of the mildness and wisdom of *Washington*. How much more effect will be produced on the minds of those who are opposed to our opinions, by treating their errors as misfortunes that require our forbearance, than by exaggerating the evils of their situation, and by violent reproaches closing the avenues of reason.

The committee appointed at a public meeting in New York on the subject of colonization, have submitted a few considerations, previous to calling on the public for assistance. The following is an abstract:

The president of the United States, and other public spirited men, have expressed an opinion in favour of the objects of the society:—the legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, have recommended measures favourable to the system of colonization:—it was favourably spoken of by a committee of the House of Representatives last session:—a law was passed authorizing the president of the United States to capture vessels employed in the slave trade, and to appoint agents on the coast of Africa to receive those who should be rescued; to effect which objects \$100,000 was appropriated.

"Full reliance is expressed, that sufficient extent of territory may be obtained near Sherbro, on the western coast of Africa, in exchange for a moderate quantity of goods adapted to the taste of the native tribes. The agents of the American Colonization Society, and other persons of veracity and observation, fully confirm this important fact. The soil and climate are good, and satis-

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factory accounts of both have been received.

"The native proprietors have signified their readiness to cede a desirable extent of land, and to receive people of colour from the United States as friends and brethren.

"No just apprehension is entertained, that any European power would be hostile to a colony originating in motives of humanity.

"The employment of a small external force will afford ample protection from the depredations of slave traders."

Many persons of colour who have settled there have prospered:—many others are ready to go when proper arrangements shall have been adopted:—it is ascertained that many slaveholders will emancipate, provided the colony be established.

An order has been issued from the Treasury Department, requiring collectors of customs to dismiss any clerk who shall have been found guilty of receiving pay for making out entries of merchandise. This is in accordance with the spirit of republicanism: let every servant of the public receive a stated salary, and he will be independent.

We have much pleasure in stating that Mr. Calhoun reached the city of Washington on the 4th inst., and is in a great measure restored to health.

Communications.

FOR THE NATIONAL RECORDER.

Concerning the Culture of the Vine.

No. VI.

In the instructive volume of the Journey of Mr. Arthur Young, p. 315, (Pinkerton's Collection of Travels,) that judicious English

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farmer gives the following observations.—
 “Upon a general view of the climate of France, and upon comparing it with that of countries not so much favoured apparently by nature, I remark, that the principal superiority of it arises from adapting so large a portion of the kingdom to the culture of the vine. Yet this noble plant is most unaccountably decried by abundance of writers, and especially by French ones, though the farmer is enabled to draw as extensive profits from poor and otherwise barren, and even almost perpendicular rocks, as from the richest vales. Hence immense tracts of land may be ranked, in France, among the most valuable, which, in our (the British) climate, would be absolutely waste, or at least applied to no better use than warrens for rabbits or sheep walks. This is the great superiority which climate gives to that kingdom over England.” The following notes are from Mr. Young’s book:

“Labour in French vineyards, in A. D. 1786, 2l 10s 9d sterling, per English acre, in the Isle of France, round Paris. At Estampes, 2l 13s 9d. At Orleans, 1l 13s 9d; near it, on the south, it is said to be more.

“Rents, 25, 45, 60, 80, 36, 90, and 50 livres, per acre.

“Price 220 livres—profit 60 livres per acre.

“Labour at Cologne, 12 sous per day and food: 1786.” In the United States we reduce human labour by the plough and harrow, with horses.

“Produce, 168 livres per acre.

“Pellecoy. Pass vineyards, of which there are many so steep, that it is strange how men can stand at their work. One third of the country under vines, which are planted on absolute rocks, but calcareous.

“Cahors. Nineteen-twentieths under vines—many more than two hundred years old! The true *vin de Cahors*, which has a great reputation, is the product of a range of rocky vineyards that are upon hills hanging to the south, and is called *Grave* wine, (vin de grave or gravier) of the stony (gravelly) soil. Much brandy. This wine is as full bodied as Port. Red and white wine is made of the red grape: white wine of white grape. Ploughing is done among vines in France; not always, nor often.

“Mizè. Produce per English acre, 8l sterling, exclusively of labour. Plants at 4 feet of France, square; being 4 feet 4 inches.

“Road to Nismes. Several thousand acres of vines on a level plain.

“Plaisance. Vine grounds double in price to wheat grounds.—In 44½ degrees of north latitude.

“Auch, and to the north. Many vines.

“Lectour. Many vines, on stony hills.

“La Morte; Landron. Vines on hills.—Price 50l sterling per English acre.

“Langon. Famous yellow wine. Land 50l sterling per acre.—Produce 15l sterling per acre.

“Barsac. Hills, that hang to the Garone, north side.—An immense range of vines.

“Castres. Vines.

“Bordeaux de Cubsac. Part *palus*, or bottom land, alluvion, and part high. Lands 61l 18s 6d sterling per acre is a common price; but in some places, 153l 11s 3d, and even 191l 19s 3d sterling per acre.

“To Cavignac. They make much brandy: make tartar, or the salt of wine.

“Angumois, Petignac, to Roulet. They make much fine brandy.

“Angouleme. Vines per acre, 10l sterling. An immense range of vines; much good brandy: brandy one gallon for six of wine, in some places more; varies from 1 to 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.—Verteuil.

“Poitou, Chateau-rault, to les Ormes. Poor hills, with vines, sell equally with their best vale lands, in 46th degree north.

“Touraine. Wine and vines.

“Amboise. Vines per acre, 43l 15s sterling.

“Bleis to Chambord, on the upper Loire. Almost all the country vines, and many new plantations, on almost a blowing sand. Two thousand acres under the eye at once.—Nearly all made into brandy.

“Petiviers, Isle of France, Liancourt, vines. Wines, so far north, bad.

“Nantes to Ancenis. Vines.—Promiscuous and no crops.

“Ancenis, on the north side of the river Loire. Great region of vines along the river, though far north. Dung very little, many not once in fifteen years.

“Varades. Vineyards, 30l sterling per acre.

“Anjou, St. George. Worst vines 200 livres per acre; best 500—(350 is 14l 9s 6d, sterling.) Much wine, not good.

“Ducatel. Vines higher than arable.

“La Roche Guyon.—61l 8s 4d, sterling, per acre, for vineyards.

“Neuf Moutier. Rich district.—Vines on slopes sell on a medium at 78l 13s 3d, sterling, per acre.

“Champagne. Two-thirds of the country round Ay, (in 49 degrees N. lat.) Cumier, Piery, Disy, Hautvilliers, &c. under vines; and here all the famous Champagne wines are made. *Avise, Aunge, Lumenée, Cramont*, make the white wine, with white grapes only. At Ay, Epernay, and Piary, the white wine is made with the black grape only. At Airy, also, first white wines are made.

“Angers, on the Loire. Much wine made, of a quality generally not the best. By manuring much is made, but of an inferior quality. Value of vine lands, 47l 5s 3d, sterling, per acre. Produce, 9l 14s 4d, sterling, per acre. Women gather the grapes. The utmost care is taken to pick out inferior bunches and decayed grapes.

“As to the culture:—in the middle of January they give the cutting (*taille*); in March they dig the ground; in April and May they plant the provins, or cut slips of the vine; in June tie and hoe the septs, or growing vines; in August hoe again; in October, or in good years in September, the vintage takes place.

“The vines are planted promiscuously,

three or four feet asunder, or two and a half; are now about eighteen inches or two feet high, and are tied to the props with straw-bands. Many plantations are far from being clean; some full of weeds: many hands on the hills. Steeping the black grape, before pressing, makes red wine.

"They press with a wheel—preferring the power of men to that of horses; probably because human labour is cheap, and the price of horses high in France. [The reverse is the case in the United States.]

"Two hundred livres in wine, when sold by the proprietor, pays (in 1786) various public duties of transfer, of five per cent. of augmentation, *gauge*, *constage*, &c.; of *Octroi* of the town, and king, in all (livres) . . . 25.0
The merchant selling, pays the same, . . . 25.0
Each buyer, who sells it, the same, . . . 25.0
Port duties on export, 15.0
Tavernkeepers and retailers pay 30 to 40, say 35.0

"The ecclesiastics take sometimes their tenth strictly; sometimes compound for a less value in money.

"The wine trade of Rheims is worth 800,000 livres per annum, to 1,100,000 livres.

"*Lorraine, Verdun, Metz.* Vines.

"*Braban.* Vines.

"*Pont au Mousson.* Vines. Many new vineyards are planted, and on lands suitable for wheat, (A. D. 1786.) The vineyards steadily increase. The income is said to be 10 per cent. on lands, vines, and farm buildings, though France is so populous and wants land.

"*Nancy, Luneville.* Produce 8*l* 12*s*, sterling, per acre.

"*Alsace, Strasbourg, Schelestadt, Isheim.* Vines. Produce 10*l* 7*s*, sterling, to 16*l* 12*s* 6*d*, per acre.

"*Franche Compté, Besançon.* Vines.—Lands in vines worth 123*l* 6*s*, sterling, per acre.

"*Bourgogne, Dijon.* (About 47 degrees north Lat.)—63*l* 19*s* 2*d*, sterling, per acre. Produce 13*l* 16*s* 6*d*. But the fine vineyards of Veauenes, Romane, and Tash, &c. sell for nearly 135*l*, sterling, per acre.

"*Clos de Vejeau.* The most famous vineyard of France. It is walled all round, and has no trees in it. Vines two or three feet high now; stand promiscuously. The soil is a brown loam, inclining to red, with stones in it, which prove on trial calcareous. It is at the foot of a hill, which is rocky. Produce 46*l* 1*s* 4*d*, per acre.—Price 511*l* 17*s* 6*d*, sterling, per acre. They make first red wine—also white.

"*Nuys, Burgundy.* Vines 51*l* 3*s* 9*d*, per acre.

"*St. George, Richebourg, Chambertin, Cote rote*, and others, above named, are the best vineyards of Burgundy, after that of *Clos de Vejeau*, which sold for above 1,100,000 livres, in 1793 or 1794.

"Manure with dung is avoided, in respect to quality; though it increases quantity. The safest manure is good fit earth or soil.

"*Beaume, Burgundy.* Vines among calcareous stones. *Valay, Aloes, Pomar, Savigne, Mulso*, (white,) and *Maureauche*.

"*Chagnie.* Vines and *Couch*.

"*Bourbonnois, Moulins, Riaux.* Vines.

"*St. Penorin.* Vineyards on hills.

"*Avergne, Riom, Clermont, Izovre.* Vines.

"*Briude.* Vines, on rocks, and rocky declivities. Thirty-five sorts of wine here, better than the red wines of the rich plains.

"*Dauphine, Montelimart.* Vines.

"*Provence, Avignon, and Aix.* Vines.—Also at *Tour de Aeugues* and *Hyerres*.

"Medium of many costs 61*l* 8*s*, sterling, per acre; but deduct the most costly, the average is 41*l* 10*s* 6*d*.

"A fair average may be 45*l*, sterling, [or \$200] per acre, cost; and 9*l* 2*s*, sterling, per acre, gross produce, [being \$40.44.]"

Thus ran the observations of Mr. Young, above thirty years ago; which, though much condensed, afford a variety of useful lights on the subject, which we have undertaken to open to the view of our country. His journey through France* and Piedmont merits our utmost attention, for he was engaged in an intelligent and diligent inquiry into the question, whether the profitable culture of the vine could be added to the agricultural pursuits of his native country. He believes that the British climates constitute the only, but an insuperable, impediment. It is believed, that after similar inquiries in the United States, and after considering the vineyards of Cohauila, and those of the two Harmony's, of Vevay, of Glasgow, and the two Carolinas, with the genial regions of the orange, the cane, the rice, the indigo, the fig, and the peach, the judgment of Mr. Young on the the subject of the vine, would be decidedly in favour of the capacity and prospects of the United States.

A FRIEND TO NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

Philadelphia, Nov. 9, 1819.†

PRICE OF MEAT.

To the Editors of the National Recorder.

Going through the market a few days ago, when most of the victuallers had left it, I passed a man who had been chaffering about a piece of meat, and left it, saying that he could get it cheaper. The price of the meat was made known by the indignant exclamation of the woman who offered it for sale—"Cheaper! eleven pounds of meat for a quarter dollar—and you want it cheaper!" T.

* It was first printed as a substantive work, in two volumes, and has been also inserted in Pinkerton's Collection of Travels.

† See No. 1 to 5, in the National Intelligencer.

Miscellany.

CARDS.

Examining some newspapers, a few days ago, I came across a journal printed in the state of Tennessee, which contained the confession of a murderer. I was tempted to read it, though aware that the crime, for which he was about to suffer, was the result of early depravity, of neglect, of idleness, or of vicious habits. There was something so simple in his narrative, that I was persuaded that he had not been a premeditated murderer; but had dipped his hands in blood under the influence of sudden passion, which, I discovered, had been produced by a *game of cards*! The origin of the quarrel is thus described by the unhappy felon:—

"We thought it too late to go to Mr. Stone's and return, which was about five miles; we concluded we would postpone it until morning, and go there to breakfast, and we, as usual, took our *grog* and commenced a game at *cards*—at which we continued until about sunset, when our game stood thus; six and six, and his deal. In shuffling the cards, I discovered him to look at the face of them, and place the jack of diamonds at the bottom of the pack. I cut the cards—Mr. Hay dealt them; and after dealing off the proper number, he slipped the fatal jack of diamonds from the bottom of the pack, and claimed the money then in stake, which was *ten dollars*. I at first thought him in jest, and laughed at him for making so bungling an out; and told him that might do in Georgia, but it would never do to win my money. He, in an elevated tone, asked me what I meant? I told him I meant turning the jack of diamonds from the bottom of the pack would not do to win my money—I was not in the habit of being cheated out of my money when I knew it. He replied, if I said he turned the jack from the bottom I was a d—d liar and a rascal. I told him to give me no more of his insolence; if he did, I would slap his jaws, which I would do any how if it was any where else; and if he claimed my money in that manner, to take it, and I was done with him; he had discovered himself to be a worthless rascal. He rose with saying "d—n you, you think your size will protect you;" at which time he seized a stick which lay on the floor, and aimed a blow, apparently, at my head. I made an attempt to dodge it, and at the same time threw up my left arm, on which the force of the blow lodged, near my shoulder. I instantly seized the stick and demanded him to let go; I held the stick in my left hand, and gave him a severe blow."

This was the commencement of the affray—and Bennet finally seized a pair of smoothing irons and killed Hay with one blow, and then in alarm, buried him secretly—was arrested, tried, convicted, and probably hanged for a murder originating in a *game at cards*.

Cards were originally invented for the amusement of a king, and their use or abuse have created great misery in the civilized world. If loss of fortune, loss of reputation, loss of peace and happiness did not result from habits of gaming, the loss of temper alone would present an obstacle to their encouragement. In the case of this unhappy man, we have an instance of the awful effects of passion and avarice originating with cards; but this case was confined to poor and uneducated members of the community—men easily led into error; it is the higher classes from which good examples should emanate—it is polished and educated persons who should discountenance pernicious habits, and teach the ignorant the evil of depraved propensities.

Last week, Nicholas brought me a note, beautifully embossed and printed, containing an invitation to a party. It smells of musk, said the old man, as he left the room. Very true, said I—the age is a refined one indeed; we sprinkle bottles of Cologne and orange flower water over our persons—we scatter rosemary and lavender among our clothes, as if nature required a perfume to sweeten her works. "An answer is requested."—*Pshaw*, what consequence is my presence or my absence—they will not order one ice cream less, or one macaroni more. But I determined to go; society is pleasant, is necessary; I take great pleasure in seeing the young ladies judiciously dressed and ornamented, enjoying themselves sportively, innocently, happily—enlivening conversation with artless spirit, and unstudied grace. I will go—and I ordered Nicholas to make preparation.

The hackman charged me two shillings more than his fare, imagining that no gentleman, who wore silk stockings and silver buckles, and who was elated with the prospect of a hot supper, would hesitate to be imposed upon. I thought of the spiteful remark of Richard the Third—"Why were laws made, if men were not rogues by nature?" but we are said to have a very vigilant police—yet laws are sometimes evaded. The full blaze of lights and beauty burst on my sight, while the flourish of hautboys and the shrill violins, announced that the dancing had commenced.

In one of the drawing rooms the card tables were out, and I leaned on a chair to observe old and young ladies and gentlemen engaged at loo, whist and speculation. The old ladies appeared excessively anxious, and the young ones caught the inspiration; ill luck and bad play awakened feelings of cupidity, mingled with irascible expressions and ill natured looks; a kind of restlessness, a sharp tetchy wayward anxiety seemed to prevail; eyes were intensely fixed on the trump card, joy and sadness, mirth and harshness, alternately prevailed; envy, passion, and all the smothered attributes of Medusa, hovered over these parties assembled for *amusement*; if one took a heavy pool, the whole company saw it vanish with deep regret, and the brilliant eyes of

young and beautiful girls followed the golden bait, as if reluctant to part with its tempting prospects, while an envious ejaculation, and a significant shrug of the shoulder from the old ladies and gentlemen, indicated their regret at having lost the prize; those who were supposed to have played bad were snarled at, and those who were adepts were sneered at, and it appeared to me as if some demon presided at these tables, to turn all the milk of human kindness to gall. And is this mode of spending time commendable, judicious and beneficial? Where are the joys, the delight, the improvement of social converse? Where is the pleasure and gratification derived from accomplishments, from a combination of grace and talent? All lost—buried beneath a green cloth and pack of cards. If young ladies could only see how unamiable they must appear to an indifferent spectator, when absorbed in a game of cards and bent on winning, if they could be sensible, that gradually and imperceptibly, the practice wears away the fine edge of their temper and damps their sensibilities, introduces parsimony, and that hateful passion, avarice, they would shun the tempter as they would a hydra. How can any thing be encouraged as an amusement under which dangers lurk in so many shapes? Cards should be only introduced among old and rational people, who wish to kill an hour without a sacrifice of temper or money; but they should be banished from the young and elastic spirits, whose impetuous fancy reason cannot control, and prudence cannot subdue. Besides, the example among the higher classes, is so pernicious to other branches of society; for if educated and refined persons, governed by avarice and an attachment to cards, should lose their temper and wrangle, be covetous, expert, and sometimes unfair, what may be expected from the ignorant and the unlettered, with the same passions and the same weapons? Why, as in the case of Bennet, it may end in murder—Let them be banished. HOWARD. *Nat. Adv.*]

Vindication of Slavery, by Montesquieu.

Were I to vindicate our right to make slaves of the negroes, these should be my arguments:

The Europeans, having extirpated the Americans, were obliged to make slaves of the Africans, for clearing such vast tracts of land.

Sugar would be too dear, if the plants which produced it were cultivated by any other than slaves.

These creatures are all over black, and with such a flat nose, that they can scarcely be pitied.

It is hardly to be believed that God, who is a wise being, should place a soul, especially a good soul, in such a black and ugly body.

The colour of the skin may be determined by that of the hair, which, among the Egyptians, the best philosophers in the world, was

of such importance, that they put to death all the red-haired men that fell into their hands.

The negroes prefer a glass necklace to that gold which polite nations so highly value: can there be a greater proof of their wanting common sense.

It is impossible for us to suppose these creatures to be men, because, allowing them to be men, a suspicion would follow that we ourselves are not Christians.

THE FUR TRADE.

[*Abridged from the St. Louis Enquirer.*]

The English have two fur companies in North America: the Hudson's Bay, and the North-West. They have no individual traders.

The Hudson Bay Company was chartered in the reign of Charles the Second, but seldom procured more than one or two hundred thousand dollars worth of furs per annum. Lately the earl of Selkirk has purchased up the principal part of the stock in this company.

The North-West Company originated about forty years ago. It was composed of individuals who had previously carried on their business separately. The advantage of their union was soon manifest. In a few years the furs procured began to be worth a million and a quarter of dollars per annum. Montreal was the seat of this commerce, and owed a great part of its prosperity to the profits derived from it. In the hands of this company the trade has been continually spreading. They have establishments on lake Winipeg, and carry on their trade upon all the rivers which fall into that lake, also in the territories of the United States upon the head waters of the Missouri, Mississippi, and St. Peters. Above the Mandan villages the trade is exclusively in their hands.—The lake Superior is exclusively their's. They have a great establishment at the upper end of this lake, called *Fond du Lac*, where the power of the company appears under a very imposing form, having forts regularly manned, with artillery, a ship upon the lake, and exhibiting the aspect of sovereign authority. They have also establishments upon the Columbia river, and employ three hundred men between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific ocean; by means of which they are extending their trade south towards the Spaniards of California, and north towards the Russians of New Archangel. The furs taken in this region are intended for the China market. In the year 1817, three shiploads went direct from the mouth of the Columbia to Canton, and the free navigation of the Columbia for the same purpose has been secured to the company for ten years by a late treaty between the United States and England. Upon the whole, so extensive and valuable is this trade, that upwards of two thousand men are annually employed in the service of the North-West Company, and the furs taken by them are of the average value of upwards of a million of dollars, Montreal

prices, and three or four times that sum in the markets of China and Japan.

The value of the Russian fur trade in America cannot be so well ascertained. That nation is in possession of the western coast of North America, from Behring's straits to the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Columbia. They even have some trading establishments further south, towards the peninsula of California, and their traders enjoy the powerful protection of their emperor in carrying off the furs of America. A fort mounting an hundred guns, commanded by a military and civil governor, is established at Norfolk sound, latitude 58°. In possession of so much of the American coast, and of that part on which abounds the valuable sea otter, the Russian fur trade on the N. W. coast must necessarily be exceedingly valuable. Shiploads are annually announced arriving at Cronstadt, each of which is probably worth from one to two hundred thousand dollars.

The people of the United States derive but little benefit from one of the richest veins of commerce which their country affords. Before the acquisition of Louisiana, the fur trade was not within their reach; for the traffic with the tribes east of the Mississippi was but inconsiderable in itself, and fell almost entirely into the hands of the British. The countries beyond the Mississippi were the valuable seats of this trade, and the jealous spirit of the Spanish government permitted no interference from American citizens. That government did not even lay open the trade to its own subjects. It neither created a company, nor permitted individual enterprise to take its course. The trade became the subject of monopoly, in the hands of those who would give the governor the greatest sum for the privilege of trading exclusively with a particular nation, or with the tribes which lived on a particular river. The monopolists, satisfied with a safe and moderate profit, extended their trade but a short distance up the rivers. In the course of an hundred and twenty years that the Missouri had been known, adventurers had not been higher up the river than the Mandan Villages. The trade nevertheless was profitable. For ten years next before the change of government, the furs brought to St. Louis averaged the annual value of two hundred and three thousand dollars; and from this commerce, the town of St. Louis took the start which has given to it the pre-eminence in trade and business which it has ever since enjoyed.

After the purchase of Louisiana, and when the discoveries of Lewis and Clark had shown the way to the Pacific Ocean, a fur company was formed in St. Louis to trade on the head waters of the Missouri and in the region of the Rocky mountains. It took the name of the Missouri Fur Company, and engaged to trade together for three years. It raised a capital of forty thousand dollars, engaged two hundred and fifty men, and in the spring of 1808 ascended the Missouri in barges to the foot of the Rocky mountains. A party even crossed the mountains, and remained till 1811 on the waters of the Columbia. But unforeseen and

unexpected disasters awaited their operations. They found themselves engaged in war with the Black Feet Indians, a numerous and ferocious tribe. A number of the men employed by the company were killed in combats with these Indians; a factory containing twenty thousand dollars worth of fur was burnt up; and at the end of the term the company, instead of receiving three hundred packs of beaver annually, (worth 80 or 90,000 dollars,) which they reasonably calculated upon, deemed themselves fortunate in bringing off as much as covered the capital embarked. The war with the English broke out soon after. The American fur traders were driven in at all points; and ever since the return of peace no individual has had the boldness to risk his life and fortune above the Mandan Villages. The British traders remain in the quiet enjoyment and peaceable possession of all our Indian trade from that point to the Pacific Ocean. The military expedition to the upper Missouri has however revived the idea of pushing the trade to the Rocky mountains. A greater number than usual have ascended the river this fall, and propose next summer to pass the Mandan Villages, relying upon the protection of the fort there, and open a trade with the tribes upon the head waters of the Missouri and Columbia. But it is not to be expected that the efforts of a few individuals can carry on the trade on a theatre so remote, subject to so many losses from the chapter of accidents, and to certain hostilities from the Indians, who will be excited against them by the British traders.

The American government also has put in for a share of the fur trade. It has established factories at various places, where merchandise is (*ordered to be*) exchanged at a moderate profit for the skins of the Indians. But certain it is that the government has not realized the benefits which were expected to flow from it. The Indians have neither been civilized, nor converted; the national storehouse has not been filled with rich and precious furs; nor can the provisions of the system be extended to all the Indians within our territories, without incurring an annual expenditure of one or two millions of dollars.

This outline of the value and present condition of the fur trade, will give an idea of its importance in a commercial point of view; politically, it is of still greater value, for it carries along with it the command of all the Indians to whom it extends, and gives the use of a practical force during war which requires a powerful army to counteract.

Montreal is the chief seat of the British fur trade in North America. Its position is no way comparable to that of St. Louis.

From St. Louis to the foot of the Rocky mountains there is no interruption to the navigation of the Missouri. Barges of forty or fifty tons may ascend it more than half the year. Tributary streams of great length and magnificence flow into it at different points, and render the country pervious in all directions to the operations of the trader. The Rocky mountains can be crossed, and have been crossed by

the traders, in six or eight days, and the country abounds with fine horses to facilitate its passage. An American trader may make his outfit from St. Louis in the months of June or July, ascend to the region of the Rocky mountains, trade during the winter, and return to St. Louis the next spring. He can carry his furs to Canton, and have a return in less time to St. Louis, than an English trader gets a return to Montreal. Nor is it the Missouri alone which is so easily accessible to the St. Louis trader: the upper Mississippi and all its branches; the Illinois, and its tributaries; the lakes Michigan and Superior, are all open to his operations. The admirable position of St. Louis, in the centre of the valley of the Mississippi, at the confluence of the waters which drain a world above it, point it out as the natural and proper seat of the American fur trade, and destined, with a little assistance from the American government, to divert from Montreal that rich stream of native American commerce.

EXCHANGE.

Remittances cannot now be made to London from any part of Europe, without paying an advance of 5 a 9 per cent. above what we have usually termed par.

The commission in London, and the incidental charges, will just about take off all the advance which you get for your bills in the United States.

Therefore a remittance to America, through London, presents a dead loss of 5 a 9 per cent. It is a grievous evil, especially at this time, when scarcely any thing can be made by shipments to Europe.

Specie can be transported freely from one part of Europe to the other. The expense of transporting it from Antwerp to London cannot be estimated at more than 1 per cent. We call 37s. for 1*l.* stg. par; because at 12 cents per 1*s.* gives it \$4.44 for 37s. Yet we find exchange on England quoted, in Antwerp, at 39s. 11d. that is, 8 per cent. above par. Such a state of things indicates plainly, that no coin current in Antwerp will, compared to what passes as money in England, bring in England any thing near the price we have called the par.

Again, take France and England into view. Some people call 24*l.* which is equal to 23.70*fr.* for 1*l.* stg. the par between France and England, none call the par over 24*fr.* From France to England, the expense of transporting specie must be trifling; and yet we find, for a great while, the price to be over 25*fr.* The reason is very plain, no gold and no silver can be had in France, which will command in England what we call par.

In the first place, Spanish milled dollars are worth 4 a 5 per cent. below par in England—and silver, I believe, is no longer to be a legal tender. We must direct our attention to gold. An English guinea, as will be perceived by Report No. 28, fol. 2, contains 118.7 grains pure gold; while a 20*fr.* piece contains only 89.5

grains pure gold, and of course is only worth 15*s.* 10*d.* stg. In the same proportion 24*fr.* will be worth only 19*s.* sterling.—Thus, pure gold against pure gold, what we call the par is 5 per cent. out of the way.

What then is the best manner to get our funds from France? A very simple mode is to import 5*fr.* pieces. They are here a legal tender at 93 cents and 3 mills. By that means 25*fr.* will produce \$4.66½. Another mode is to take crowns and half crowns, which they sell by wt. in France, and when here, if you cannot get what used to be the legal value of them, send them to the mint at Philadelphia, where they will coin them gratis for you. Another mode is to bring Spanish milled dollars, which will either command a premium for the East India trade, or pass as legal tender at 100 cents per dollar.

These are mere suggestions. Abler pens than mine will do more justice to this important subject. It is certainly worthy of consideration to save 5 per cent. on the immense amount of remittances from Europe to America, which have usually been made through England.

Another subject may not be thought beneath notice at this time; when in competition with all the world, we must make every saving we can, or give up the chase to our better calculating rivals. It is the value of silver.

One fact appears to me very clear, viz. That sufficient attention has not been bestowed by the merchants of the United States to coins, other than Spanish milled dollars, or to bullion. If you go to trade with the savages of Sumatra, they are, you know, acquainted with Spanish dollars. They may not be with other coins; therefore, to make your trade certain, carry Spanish dollars.

But if you are going to Calcutta or Canton, where the assay of silver is well understood, may it not be worth while to consider that some other kind of silver, when Spanish dollars bear a high premium, would answer better. I have been told, from a very good source, that a house in this town having accumulated two hundred thousand Spanish dollars, with a view to send them to Calcutta, did, on the suggestion of a friend, sell those dollars, at the then market price, which was 10 per cent. and took other silver coin, which answered nearly as well; thus making a saving of over \$16,000 in the outset.

In ascertaining the real comparative value of the various coins every where, the total weight of the coin, its standard, and the weight of pure gold or pure silver which each coin contains, are leading causes. In Reports No. 28 and 30, will be found the table containing these items, for the gold coins. I intend giving hereafter the table of silver coins.

P. S. Nov. 27.—Exchange on London has fallen in France (Oct. 30) to f24.70. This indicates either that the bank of England has relaxed from its curtailing system; or that the pressure in England is expected to compel a departure from it; or of some other great and leading cause unknown. [*Degrad's Report.*]

*Meteorological Phenomena.**Montreal, Nov. 13.*

The astonishing appearances which the last week has exhibited will make it long remembered by the inhabitants of this district; and Tuesday last will be classed, by after ages, with the celebrated dark Sunday which happened in 1785. A series of awful events have occurred, equally impressive to the mind of the illiterate and learned. While the former viewed these events as they passed, and, with a mixture of dread and veneration, saw in them the immediate interposition of "Him who rides on the whirlwind, and directs the storm," the latter felt his mind recoil back in itself, and tremble at its own nothingness. All his best established facts, all his first principles, and his long train of causes and effects, were totally inadequate to explain the aberrations from the usual course of nature he saw passing before him.

The first unusual appearance which attracted general notice happened on Sunday last. The morning was remarkably dark for the season; and about 8 o'clock, A. M. the whole atmosphere appeared covered with a thick cloud of haze of a dingy orange colour. The wind was light from the N. N. W. and seemed incapable of dispelling the heavy vapour which floated in the sky. A little before 9 o'clock, a shower of rain fell; of a dark inky colour, and apparently much impregnated with some black substance resembling soot, or fine ashes. This, for the time, seemed to account for the singular appearance of the heavens. It was conjectured a volcano had broke out in some distant quarter, and the ashes from the eruption, floating in the cloud, gave it the unnatural colour. During the day the weather cleared, the sky assumed its natural aspect, and the afternoon became seasonably pleasant.

Tuesday was a day that set anxiety on the rack, and put conjecture at defiance. The morning opened with a clear serene sky, a gentle breeze from the northwest; and a smart frost during the night led us to anticipate a day fitted for business or amusement. About 10 o'clock, A. M. the wind became variable, veering round to the westward, and again becoming more northerly. A heavy damp vapour seemed to envelope the whole city, and the appearance of the atmosphere indicated rain. As the forenoon advanced, the sky became more and more surcharged with dense clouds: the darkness increased to such a degree that, by 12 and 1 o'clock, it became necessary to light candles in all the public offices in town; and even in the butcher's stalls in the market place they were found indispensably necessary. The darkness still continued to increase, and with it there appeared a general dread as to what might be the result, pervading every countenance. But although the darkness went on augmenting, it was not uniform in its progress. At times, a white silver-coloured stream of light seem-

ed for a moment to penetrate the dense atmosphere, and, for a few seconds, it appeared as if clearing away.

It was during these periods the aspect of the heavens was most striking to an attentive observer. The deadly pale light which came for the instant, as if to cheat our hopes and mock our feelings, seemed, by being refracted through the cloud, to proceed from a stratum between it and the earth; and the blackened colour of the air, viewed through this luminous substratum, presented a spectacle awful and grand in the extreme. The general dread seemed now to have reached its climax: all viewed the phenomenon as connected with some great convulsion of nature, but whether the precursor or follower of such an event none could tell. A little before 3 o'clock, there was a slight shock of an earthquake, distinctly felt in different parts of the city, accompanied with a noise resembling the discharge of a distant piece of artillery. As the attention of all classes was closely rivetted on the more impressive aspect of the sky, but little notice was paid to the shock. The increasing gloom engrossed the attention of all, and every thing else gave way to the awful expectation of what might be the conclusion. About twenty minutes past 3 o'clock, after the darkness had gradually increased, and seemed at that moment to have attained its greatest depth, the whole city was instantaneously illuminated by one of the most vivid flashes of lightning ever witnessed in Montreal: this was suddenly followed by an awful peal of thunder, so loud and near as to shake the strongest buildings to their foundations.

The proximity of the thunder, and the violence of the concussion, impressed many people with the belief that a second earthquake had happened. If this was the case, it must have been at the same instant with the thunder, and not distinguishable from it: but we are of opinion the vibratory motion felt was altogether owing to the vicinity of the cloud at the time it discharged its electric contents. The first peal was followed by a few others, and accompanied with a heavy shower of rain, similar to what had fallen on Sunday, but of a darker hue, and apparently more charged with a black sooty matter.

After the thunder and rain had subsided, the darkness did not entirely disappear, as might have been expected, had it proceeded from a thunder cloud, as usual. On the contrary, it still continued, and seemed to increase till about 4 o'clock. The general anxiety, however, became somewhat appeased, as the cause of the unusual appearance had been in part explained. To describe the general feeling during the forenoon of this day, is a task to which few pens are adequate. Although the first peal of thunder gave relief to many, as being explanatory of the cause, it came at such a time, and when the minds of all were prepared to expect some dreadful catastrophe, "that the boldest held his breath for a time."

Splitting Slate.—The idea of separating slate by the congelation of water in the quarries, is very curious. The rain water being let into the crevices of the blocks, when it freezes, its expansion suddenly separates the layer.

Sir Humphry Davy has discovered a means to procure permanent light without flame: he has taught, that a platina wire of sufficient fineness, and an inch, or an inch and a half long, which has been heated red-hot, may be long preserved in that state over a vessel in which there is sulphuric ether or alcohol, in a state of evaporation. Thus this incandescent wire may be employed as a cheap night lamp, or instead of a steel to light tinder.

Poetry.

The Female Convict to her Infant.

O sleep not, my babe, for the morn of to-morrow
 Shall soothe me to slumber more tranquil
 than thine;
 The dark grave shall shield me from shame
 and from sorrow,
 Though the deeds and the doom of the
 guilty are mine.
 Not long shall the arm of affection enfold
 thee,
 Not long shalt thou hang on thy mother's
 fond breast;
 And who with the eye of delight shall behold
 thee,
 And watch thee, and guard thee, when I
 am at rest!
 And yet it doth grieve me to wake thee, my
 dearest,
 The pangs of thy desolate mother to see;
 Thou wilt weep when the clank of my cold
 chain thou hearest,
 And none but the guilty should mourn over
 me.
 And yet I must wake thee—for while thou
 art weeping,
 To calm thee I stifle my tears for a while;
 But thou smil'st in thy dreams while thus
 placidly sleeping,
 And oh! how it wounds me to gaze on thy
 smile!
 Alas! my sweet babe, with what pride had
 I press'd thee
 To the bosom that now throbs with terror
 and shame,
 If the pure tie of virtuous affection had blest
 thee,
 And hail'd thee the heir of thy father's
 high name?
 But now—with remorse that avails not—I
 mourn thee,
 Forsaken and friendless, as soon thou wilt
 be

In a world, if it cannot betray, that will scorn
 thee—

Avenging the guilt of thy mother on thee.

And when the dark thought of my fate shall
 awaken

The deep blush of shame on thy innocent
 cheek,

When by all, but the God of the orphan, for-
 saken,

A home and a father in vain thou shalt
 seek:

I know that the base world will seek to de-
 ceive thee,

With falsehood like that which thy mother
 beguiled;

Deserted and helpless—to whom can I leave
 thee?

Oh! God of the fatherless! pity my child!
Liverpool Mercury.]

Record.

CONGRESS.

The sixth instant being the time appointed for the meeting of Congress, both houses met for the first time in the apartments prepared for them in the Capitol. Some difficulty of hearing was experienced from the great size of these splendid chambers. It is believed that this defect can be remedied by the disposition of drapery.

The SENATE adopted the usual rules respecting furnishing members with newspapers and appointing a chaplain. Committees were appointed on *Enrolled Bills, Accounts, Engrossed Bills*, and the *constitution of Alabama*.

The HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES elected Henry Clay speaker, and the members were severally sworn to support the constitution of the United States. The clerk and other officers were appointed. The rules and orders of the last house were temporarily established for the government of this house. The usual rule respecting newspapers was adopted, and the constitution of Alabama was referred to a select committee.

Perhaps at no peaceful period have the national representatives met under circumstances of deeper responsibility, or under the necessity of deliberating on matters more vitally affecting the interests of the republic, than at this time; and seldom, it may be added, have the eyes of the people been fixed upon them with a more intense attention. To attempt an enumeration here of the subjects which will claim the consideration of the national legislature, would be useless, if not officious; they are, those of a domestic nature especially, impressed upon the mind of every one.

Supposing, even, that nothing in the present state of our foreign relations shall require the interposition of Congress, yet the results of their deliberations on the great

questions of internal policy which will present themselves, besides those of an ordinary yet not unimportant character, will certainly stamp the first session of the Sixteenth Congress with a memorable character in the annals of our country. That they may be such as to promote the public happiness, preserve the purity of our institutions, and, by thus attaching the people to their government, cement more firmly the union of the states, must be the sincere and fervent hope of every man who is not an enemy to his country. [Nat. Int.]

The acting governor of Georgia has laid before the legislature a message that had been prepared by the late governor Rabun. We make a few extracts from it.

Commissioners had been appointed to ascertain the true head of St. Mary's river, in order to determine the boundary between that state and East Florida: they ascertained that the mound thrown up by Mr. Ellicott and the Spanish deputation, was situated at the true source of the river, according to the intent of the treaty of the 27th Oct. 1795.

"In anticipating the beneficial results of the penitentiary, it was fondly hoped that as the punishment due to crime had become more certain, their number and enormity would have been less frequent, than under the former system. But in this we have been disappointed. For whether attributable to an increase of vice, or the lenient mode of punishment, it is to be lamented, that crimes both in number and enormity, are committed on the persons and property of our citizens as frequently as at any former period of our history. In the management of the institution, the executive and board of inspectors have often been perplexed. The want of experience and unanimity among the keepers has frequently endangered its prosperity, and has in some instances been calculated to throw a shade over its character. It would indeed be desirable for the legislature to examine the subject with a jealous and critical eye."

"In the month of December last, I directed the agent of the state to repair to Darien, and order the balance of the African slaves which had been previously delivered to him by the collector of the port of Brunswick, and after giving the legal notice, expose the same to public sale agreeably to law. This duty was accordingly performed, and the sale advertised to commence on the first Tuesday in May last, in this place; the deputy marshal of the district of Georgia came forward, and made an attempt to arrest them, by virtue of a warrant from the district court of this state, at the instance of Mingule de Castro, who was said to be a citizen of Portugal. Being well assured that the name of De Castro was only borrowed to cover the mysterious designs of some of our own citizens who have long been engaged in this abominable traffic, I therefore refused to give them up to the marshal, but finally agreed to suspend the sale, and hold

them subject to the decree of the district court, where the case is still pending.

"About the time that the marshal came forward to seize on those unfortunate Africans, the agent of the Colonization Society of the United States arrived, and clothed with competent authority to ask, receive and transport them to their native country, free from charge or expense.

"The proposition was marked with so much liberality and benevolence, that without much hesitation I agreed to deliver them over to the order of that humane society, as soon as the court of the United States shall adjudge them to be subject to the control of the constituted authorities of this state."

The Supreme Court of Louisiana, in the case of Phillips vs. Rogers and others, have determined that in that state foreigners are entitled to hold, and to inherit, property of every description, real and personal. The property depending upon the decision was valued at fifty or sixty thousand dollars. Archibald Phillips died seised of this estate, leaving a brother, the appellant in the case, the nearest relation, who is an alien, and a subject of the king of Great Britain; and the appellees, more remote relations, citizens of the United States. The court had rejected the claim of the nearest relation, who is an alien, to the real estate, in favour of the appellees, the nearest relations, who are citizens of the United States. But this court reversed the decree, on the ground, as would appear from the argument of the counsel, as published in a New Orleans paper, that the Spanish law, and the laws of the Spanish Indies allow foreigners "to hold, devise, and inherit lands, and every kind of property, except property of a feudal nature to which some jurisdiction or authority is annexed."

Rhode Island has prohibited the levying execution on the body of debtors for sums under fifteen dollars, and has repealed the law exempting clergymen from taxation.

The senate of *South Carolina* have refused admission to a member elected, on the ground that he is a director of the Branch Bank of the United States at Charleston. He was heard by counsel at the bar, and the decision was 25 to 11 against him.

An act has passed the legislature of *Tennessee* to dispose of the lands between *High-wassee* and *Tennessee*.

Missouri.—Notwithstanding the great number of persons who are held in check by the agitation of the slave question in Congress, the emigration to *Missouri* is astonishingly great. Probably from thirty to fifty wagons daily cross the *Mississippi* at the different ferries, and bring in an average of four to five hundred souls a day. The emigrants are principally from *Kentucky*, *Tennessee*, *Virginia*, and the states further south. They bring great numbers of slaves, knowing that

Congress has no power to impose the agitated restriction, and that the people of Missouri will never adopt it. [*St. Louis Eng.*]

Abstract of the exports of cotton and tobacco from New Orleans from the 1st of October, 1818, until the 31st of the same month, 1819:

COTTON.	
England	48,840 bales.
France	29,989
Holland	1,998
Coastwise	15,710
Total,	95,537 bales.
TOBACCO.	
England	10,122 hhds.
France	4,865
Holland & Germany	7,632
Coastwise	13,048
Total,	85,667 hhds.

The *Dismal Swamp Canal*, so important to an internal trade and to Norfolk, we are pleased to learn is so nearly completed, that it will be opened in the ensuing spring on its enlarged and improved plan.

Georgia Swamps.—It is stated that in the swamps near Darien, 400 gallons of sugar cane juice, worth 50 cents per gallon, have been produced to the acre.

Razors, equal to any imported, are said to be now manufactured at Pittsburgh.

Sewing Silk.—At the cattle show and display of manufactures in Cayuga county, New York, Samuel Chidsey of Scipio, received a premium for the best pound of sewing silk, of various colours, pronounced to be equal to imported.

In boring for salt water on the Conemaugh river, near Georgetown, Westmoreland county, Penn. *Seneca oil* was found at the depth of 270 feet. It is said to be very pure, and one barrel per day may be easily procured.

The *Cranberry* has been domesticated, and cultivated extensively by a gentleman of Barnstable, Massachusetts. It is believed that they yield a very profitable crop.

A convention of delegates from persons favourable to legislative protection of manufactures, met at New York on the 29th November, and terminated on the 1st December. A memorial to Congress was agreed upon: it was "recommended to the manufacturers in each of the states, to appoint a committee of publication, for the purpose of disseminating such essays as may be calculated to dispel the prejudices that exist on the subject of manufactures:" they were also advised to form societies, and to call a convention in each state on the third Monday in December, to ascertain the rise, progress and decay of manufactures through the union; also to have another general convention at New York on the third Monday in January

next. The authors of the Philadelphia addresses on the subject were thanked for the perseverance, zeal, and talents, displayed therein.

A public meeting was held at Boston on the 3d inst. to express their opinions on the subject of the *further extension of slavery* in the United States. It was resolved that in the opinion of the meeting, Congress have power to prevent it, and that it is just and expedient that they should exercise it. A committee was appointed to prepare a memorial for the signatures of the citizens at large.

Some of the Englishmen in New York held a meeting on December 1st, to take into consideration the Manchester murders. We conjectured on the annunciation of the intended meeting, that resolutions disapproving the conduct of Hunt, Carlile, &c. would have been passed; instead of this they come forward in the most dashing style, offer their praise to Hunt, Carlile, Wooler, Cobbett, and Paine's bones, and noticing the assertion of the ministerial prints that property is in danger, they declare that the goods of the farmer and the mechanic are safe, but that the property of monopolising, speculative men, who have loaded England with a debt too heavy to be borne, must perish with the oppressors!

The Baltimore Morning Chronicle contains a memorial from the merchants of Baltimore, recommending that the duties on all foreign goods may be made payable in cash; or, if the goods be put into the public store, that the duties may be made to bear interest from the date of one month after the entry of the vessel in which they may be imported. They also pray that effectual measures may be taken to arrest the practice, which they apprehend prevails to an alarming extent, of employing American vessels and American mariners, under foreign colours, in unlawful privateering and piracy, as well as in the African slave trade.

The mode of amending the constitution of Georgia, is by bill, to be passed by a majority of two-thirds of both houses, by two successive legislatures.

A society has been formed in Adams county in this state, entitled "The Adams County Society for the purpose of encouraging Agriculture, raising Stock, and Manufactures."

Clayton & Kingsland of New York propose to republish Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

Foreign.

Extract of a Letter from a respectable mercantile house in Liverpool, to another in Boston, dated Liverpool, Oct. 31, 1819.

"I am truly sorry to inform you that such is the state of trade in this country, and such

our present prospects, that you have no chance of sending any thing here, but the sale will be attended with loss. Our manufacturing districts are in that disturbed state, that all respectable persons are uneasy as to the safety of their property, and they are universally endeavouring to do as little business as possible. In consequence of this there is a more general dulness in trade than I think was ever before experienced, and I fear it is likely to continue."

A grand jury in Montreal have made a presentment of some grievances in the common jail of that city, incompatible with the administration of justice. They complain of the want of opportunity of air and exercise—the confinement of untried persons with criminals—fettering debtors and placing them with criminals—refusing them the society of their families—confining insane persons with other prisoners—enclosing felons in their cells, without beds, blankets or fire—and a want of cleanliness in the jailer.

It is said that the *Thibet goats*, lately imported into France, thrive well in that climate, and that their wool retains its original fineness.

The bottle, No. 2, thrown overboard by capt. J. Ross, of his majesty's ship *Isabella*, on the 3d June, 1818, in lat. 65, 40, N. long. 54, 10, W. of Greenwich, to ascertain the direction of the current in Davis's Straits, was found by one of the servants of A. Macdonald, esq. at Balranald, North Ulst, on the 17th of July last; and the paper inclosed in it quite dry; so that it was thirteen months and fourteen days on its passage. The lat. of Balranald is about 57, 20, N. The paper has been transmitted to the admiralty, agreeably to their request. [*Inverness Courier.*]

MARRIED.

On the 29th ult. by the Rev. Horatio G. Jones, Mr. George Curwen, to Miss Eleanor Ewing, daughter of Maskill Ewing, esq.

On the 30th ult. by the Rev. E. S. Ely, Mr. John A. Dougherty, to Miss Eliza N. Sherborne, daughter of Mr. William Sherborne.

On the 30th ult. by the Right Rev. Bishop White, Mr. Wm. W. Thackara, to Miss Frances Gordon.

On the 2d inst. by the Rev. Dr. Janeway, Mr. Daniel Lamot, to Miss Anna P. daughter of Robert Smith.

DIED.

On the 24th ult. at Burlington, N. J. Susanna Emlen, consort of Samuel Emlen, and eldest daughter of William Dillwyn, of Great Britain.

On the 28th ult. in the 51st year of his age, Mr. Christopher Pidgeon.

At his residence in London Grove township, Chester county, on the 23d ult. Samuel Sharp, in the 87th year of his age. The deceased formerly held a seat in the legislature of this state—was a man of remarkable simplicity of manners, and held in general esteem by those who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance.

On the 19th ult. in New Garden, Chester county, Enoch Gray, in the 81st year of his age.

In West Marlborough, Catharine Swayne, aged 89 years.

At Trenton, N. J. on Saturday the 27th ult. in the 68th year of his age, major general Thomas Robinson, of Delaware, and colonel in the Pennsylvania line during the revolutionary war.

On the 29th ult. in the 28th year of her age, Mrs. Catharine, wife of Mr. Andrew C. Barclay, merchant.

On the 30th ult. in the 22d year of her age, Mrs. Esther Stewart, wife of John Stewart.

On the 5th inst. Mrs. Helen Waldie, in the 55th year of her age, formerly of Hawick, Scotland.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*Fellow citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives,*

The public buildings being advanced to a stage to afford accommodation for Congress, I offer you my sincere congratulations on the recommencement of your duties in the capitol.

In bringing to view the incidents most deserving attention, which have occurred since your last session, I regret to have to state that several of our principal cities have suffered by sickness; that an unusual drought has prevailed in the middle and western states; and that a derangement has been felt in some of our monied institutions, which has proportionably affected their credit. I am happy, however, to have it in my power to assure you, that the health of our cities is now completely restored; that the produce of the year, though less abundant than usual, will not only be amply sufficient for home consumption, but afford a large surplus for the supply of the wants of other nations; and that the derangement in the circulating paper medium, by being left to those remedies which its obvious causes suggested, and the good sense and virtue of our fellow citizens supplied, has diminished.

Having informed Congress, on the 27th of February last, that a treaty of amity, settlement, and limits, had been concluded in this city, between the United States and Spain, and ratified by the competent authorities of the former, full confidence was entertained that it would have been ratified by his Catholic majesty with equal promptitude, and a like earnest desire to terminate, on the conditions of that treaty, the differences which had so long existed between the two countries. Every view which the subject admitted of, was thought to have justified this conclusion. Great losses had been sustained by citizens of the United States, from Spanish cruisers, more than twenty years before, which had not been redressed. These losses had been acknowledged and provided for by a treaty, as far back as the year 1802, which, although concluded at Madrid, was not then ratified by the government of Spain, nor since, until the last year, when it was suspended by the late treaty, a more satisfactory provision to both parties, as was presumed, having been made for them. Other differences had arisen in this long interval, affecting their highest interests, which were likewise provided for by this last treaty. The treaty itself was formed on great consideration, and a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, the subject matter of every article having been for years under discussion, and repeated

references having been made by the minister of Spain to his government, on the points respecting which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed. It was formed by a minister duly authorized for the purpose, who had represented his government in the United States, and been employed in this long protracted negotiation several years, and who, it is not denied, kept strictly within the letter of his instructions. The faith of Spain was therefore pledged, under circumstances of peculiar force and solemnity, for its ratification. On the part of the United States this treaty was evidently acceded to in a spirit of conciliation and concession. The indemnity for injuries and losses so long before sustained, and now again acknowledged and provided for, was to be paid by them, without becoming a charge on the treasury of Spain. For territory ceded by Spain, other territory of great value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her. This cession was nevertheless received, as the means of indemnifying our citizens in a considerable sum, the presumed amount of their losses. Other considerations of great weight, urged the cession of this territory by Spain. It was surrounded by the territories of the United States on every side, except on that of the ocean. Spain had lost her authority over it, and falling into the hands of adventurers connected with the savages, it was made the means of unceasing annoyance and injury to our union, in many of its most essential interests. By this cession then, Spain ceded a territory, in reality, of no value to her, and obtained concessions of the highest importance, by the settlement of long standing differences with the United States, affecting their respective claims and limits, and likewise relieved herself from the obligation of a treaty relating to it, which she had failed to fulfil, and also from the responsibility incident to the most flagrant and pernicious abuses of her rights where she could not support her authority.

It being known that the treaty was formed under these circumstances, not a doubt was entertained that his Catholic majesty would have ratified it without delay. I regret to have to state that this reasonable expectation has been disappointed; that the treaty was not ratified within the time stipulated, and has not since been ratified. As it is important that the nature and character of this unexpected occurrence should be distinctly understood, I think it my duty to communicate to you all the facts and circumstances in my possession relating to it.

Anxious to prevent all future disagreement with Spain, by giving the most prompt effect to the treaty which had been thus concluded, and particularly by the establishment of a government in Florida, which should preserve order there, the minister of the United States, who had been recently appointed to his Catholic majesty, and to whom the ratifi-

cation, by his government, had been committed, to be exchanged for that of Spain, was instructed to transmit the latter to the department of state as soon as obtained by a public ship subjected to his order for the purpose. Unexpected delay occurring in the ratification by Spain, he requested to be informed of the cause. It was stated, in reply, that the great importance of the subject, and a desire to obtain explanations on certain points which were not specified, had produced the delay, and that an envoy would be despatched to the United States, to obtain such explanations of this government. The minister of the United States offered to give full explanation on any point, on which it might be desired; which proposal was declined. Having communicated this result to the department of state in August last, he was instructed, notwithstanding the disappointment and surprise which it produced, to inform the government of Spain, that if the treaty should be ratified, and transmitted here at any time before the meeting of Congress, it would be received, and have the same effect as if it had been ratified in due time. This order was executed; the authorized communication was made to the government of Spain, and by its answer, which has just been received, we are officially made acquainted, for the first time, with the causes which have prevented the ratification of the treaty by his Catholic majesty. It is alleged by the minister of Spain, that this government had attempted to alter one of the principal articles of the treaty, by a declaration, which the minister of the United States had been ordered to present, when he should deliver the ratification by his government in exchange for that of Spain; and of which he gave notice, explanatory of the sense in which that article was understood. It is further alleged, that this government had recently tolerated, or protected, an expedition from the United States, against the province of Texas. These two imputed acts are stated as the reasons which have induced his Catholic majesty to withhold his ratification from the treaty, to obtain explanations respecting which it is repeated that an envoy would be forthwith despatched to the United States. How far these allegations will justify the conduct of the government of Spain, will appear on a view of the following facts, and the evidence which supports them.

It will be seen by the documents transmitted herewith, that the declaration mentioned relates to a clause in the eighth article, concerning certain grants of land, recently made by his Catholic majesty, in Florida, which it was understood had conveyed all the lands, which till then had been ungranted. It was the intention of the parties to annul these latter grants, and that clause was drawn for that express purpose, and for none other. The date of these grants was unknown, but it was understood to be posterior to that inserted in the article: indeed it must be obvious to all, that, if that provision in the treaty

had not the effect of annulling these grants, it would be altogether nugatory. Immediately after the treaty was concluded and ratified by this government, an intimation was received that these grants were of anterior date to that fixed on by the treaty, and that they would not of course be affected by it. The mere possibility of such a case so inconsistent with the intention of the parties, and the meaning of the article, induced this government to demand an explanation on the subject, which was immediately granted, and which corresponds with this statement. With respect to the other act alleged, that this government had tolerated or protected an expedition against Texas, it is utterly without foundation. Every discountenance has invariably been given to every such attempt within the limits of the United States, as is fully evinced by the acts of the government, and the proceedings of the courts. There being cause, however, to apprehend, in the course of the last summer, that some adventurers entertained views of the kind suggested, the attention of the constituted authorities in that quarter was immediately drawn to them, and it is known that the project, whatever it might be, has utterly failed.

These facts will, it is presumed, satisfy every impartial mind, that the government of Spain had no justifiable cause for declining to ratify the treaty. A treaty, concluded in conformity with instructions is obligatory, in good faith, in all its stipulations, according to the true intent and meaning of the parties. Each party is bound to ratify it. If either could set it aside without the consent of the other, there would be no longer any rules applicable to such transactions between nations. By this proceeding, the government of Spain has rendered to the United States a new and very serious injury. It has been stated that a minister would be sent, to ask certain explanations of this government. But, if such were desired, why were they not asked within the time limited for the ratification? Is it contemplated to open a new negotiation respecting any of the articles or conditions of the treaty? If that were done, to what consequences might it not lead? At what time, and in what manner, would a new negotiation terminate? By this proceeding, Spain has formed a relation between the two countries which will justify any measures on the part of the United States, which a strong sense of injury, and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation may dictate. In the course to be pursued, these objects should be constantly held in view, and have their due weight. Our national honour must be maintained, and a new and a distinguished proof be afforded, of that regard for justice and moderation which has invariably governed the councils of this free people. It must be obvious to all, that if the United States had been desirous of making conquests, or had been even willing to aggrandize themselves in that way, they could have had no inducement to form this treaty. They would have much cause for gratulation

at the course which has been pursued by Spain. An ample field for ambition is open before them. But such a career is not consistent with the principles of their government nor the interests of the nation.

From a full view of all circumstances, it is submitted to the consideration of Congress, whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the treaty into effect, in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain, claiming on their part all its advantages, and yielding to Spain those secured to her. By pursuing this course, we shall rest on the sacred ground of right, sanctioned in the most solemn manner by Spain herself, by a treaty which she was bound to ratify, for refusing to do which she must incur the censure of other nations, even those most friendly to her; while, by confining ourselves within that limit, we cannot fail to obtain their well merited approbation. We must have peace on a frontier where we have been so long disturbed; our citizens must be indemnified for losses so long since sustained, and for which indemnity has been so unjustly withheld from them. Accomplishing these great objects, we obtain all that is desirable.

But his Catholic majesty has twice declared his determination to send a minister to the United States, to ask explanations on certain points, and to give them, respecting his delay to ratify the treaty. Shall we act by taking the ceded territory, and proceeding to execute the other conditions of the treaty, before this minister arrives and is heard? This is a case which forms a strong appeal to the candour, the magnanimity, and honour of this people. Much is due to courtesy between nations. By a short delay we shall lose nothing; for, resting on the ground of immutable truth and justice, we cannot be diverted from our purpose. It ought to be presumed, that the explanations, which may be given to the minister of Spain, will be satisfactory and produce the desired result. In any event, the delay for the purpose mentioned, being a further manifestation of the sincere desire to terminate, in the most friendly manner, all differences with Spain, cannot fail to be duly appreciated by his Catholic majesty, as well as by other powers. It is submitted, therefore, whether it will not be proper to make the law, proposed for carrying the conditions of the treaty into effect, should it be adopted, contingent; to suspend its operation upon the responsibility of the executive, in such manner as to afford an opportunity for such friendly explanations as may be desired during the present session of Congress.

I communicate to Congress a copy of the treaty and of the instructions to the minister of the United States, at Madrid, respecting it; of his correspondence with the minister of Spain, and of such other documents as may be necessary to give a full view of the subject.

In the course which the Spanish government have, on this occasion, thought proper to pursue, it is satisfactory to know, that they

have not been countenanced by any other European power. On the contrary, the opinion and wishes, both of France and Great Britain, have not been withheld either from the United States or from Spain, and have been unequivocal in favour of the ratification. There is also reason to believe that the sentiments of the imperial government of Russia have been the same, and that they have also been made known to the cabinet at Madrid.

In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish provinces in this hemisphere, the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality. Our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties, and on the same conditions, and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering in favour of either, to the prejudice of the other. The progress of the war, however, has operated manifestly in favour of the colonies. Buenos Ayres still maintains, unshaken, the independence which it declared in 1816, and has enjoyed since 1810. Like success has also lately attended Chili and the provinces north of the La Plata, bordering on it; and likewise Venezuela.

This contest has, from its commencement, been very interesting to other powers, and to none more so than to the United States. A virtuous people may and will confine themselves within the limits of a strict neutrality; but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbours, without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case. It has been the steady purpose of this government, to prevent that feeling leading to excess; and it is very gratifying to have it in my power to state, that so strong has been the sense throughout the whole community, of what was due to the character and obligations of the nation, that few examples of a contrary kind have occurred.

The distance of the colonies from the parent country, and the great extent of their population and resources, gave them advantages which, it was anticipated, at a very early period, it would be difficult for Spain to surmount. The steadiness, consistency and success, with which they have pursued their object, as evinced more particularly by the undisturbed sovereignty which Buenos Ayres has so long enjoyed, evidently give them a strong claim to the favourable consideration of other nations. These sentiments on the part of the United States, have not been withheld from other powers, with whom it is desirable to act in concert. Should it become manifest to the world, that the efforts of Spain to subdue those provinces, will be fruitless, it may be presumed that the Spanish government itself will give up the contest. In producing such a determination, it cannot be doubted that the opinion of friendly powers, who have taken no part in the controversy, will have their merited influence.

It is of the highest importance to our national character, and indispensable to the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our

neutrality should be prevented. No door should be left open for the evasion of our laws; no opportunity afforded to any who may be disposed to take advantage of it, to compromise the interest or honour of the nation. It is submitted, therefore, to the consideration of Congress, whether it may not be advisable to revise the laws, with a view to this desirable result.

It is submitted, also, whether it may not be advisable to designate by law, the several ports or places along the coast, at which, only, foreign ships of war or privateers may be admitted. The difficulty of sustaining the regulations of our commerce, and of other important interests, from abuse, without such designation, furnishes a strong motive for this measure.

At the time of the negotiation for the renewal of the commercial convention between the United States and Great Britain, a hope had been entertained that an article might have been agreed upon, mutually satisfactory to both countries, regulating, upon principles of justice and reciprocity, the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British possessions, as well in the West Indies as upon the continent of North America. The plenipotentiaries of the two governments, not having been able to come to an agreement on this important interest, those of the United States reserved for the consideration of this government the proposals which had been presented to them as the ultimate offer on the part of the British government, and which they were not authorized to accept. On their transmission here, they were examined with due deliberation, the result of which was, a new effort to meet the views of the British government. The minister of the United States was instructed to make a further proposal, which has not been accepted. It was, however, declined in an amicable manner. I recommend to the consideration of Congress whether further prohibitory provisions in the laws relating to this intercourse, may not be expedient. It is seen with interest, that although it has not been practicable, as yet, to agree in any arrangement of this important branch of their commerce, such is the disposition of the parties, that each will view any regulations, which the other may make respecting it, in the most friendly light.

By the fifth article of the convention concluded on the 20th of October, 1818, it was stipulated that the differences which had arisen between the two governments, with regard to the true intent and meaning of the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, in relation to the carrying away, by British officers, of slaves from the United States, after the exchange of the ratification of the treaty of peace, should be referred to the decision of some friendly sovereign or state, to be named for that purpose. The minister of the United States has been instructed to name to the British government a foreign sovereign, the common friend to both parties, for the decision of this question. The answer of that

government to the proposal, when received, will indicate the further measures to be pursued on the part of the United States.

Although the pecuniary embarrassments which affected various parts of the union during the latter part of the preceding year, have, during the present, been considerably augmented, and still continue to exist, the receipts into the treasury, to the 30th of September last have amounted to \$19,000,000. After defraying the current expenses of the government, including the interest and reimbursement of the public debt, payable to that period, amounting to \$18,200,000, there remained in the treasury on that day more than \$2,500,000, which, with the sums receivable during the remainder of the year, will exceed the current demands upon the treasury for the same period.

The causes which have tended to diminish the public receipts, could not fail to have a corresponding effect upon the revenue which has accrued upon imposts and tonnage, during the three first quarters of the present year. It is, however, ascertained that the duties which have been secured during that period exceed \$18,000,000, and those of the whole year will probably amount to \$23,000,000.

For the probable receipts of the next year, I refer you to the statements which will be transmitted from the treasury, which will enable you to judge whether further provision be necessary.

The great reduction in the price of the principal articles of domestic growth, which has occurred during the present year, and the consequent fall in the price of labour, apparently so favourable to the success of domestic manufactures, have not shielded them against other causes adverse to their prosperity. The pecuniary embarrassments which have so deeply affected the commercial interests of the nation, have been no less adverse to our manufacturing establishments, in several sections of the union.

The great reduction of the currency which the banks have been constrained to make, in order to continue specie payments, and the vitiated character of it where such reductions have not been attempted, instead of placing within the reach of these establishments the pecuniary aid necessary to avail themselves of the advantages resulting from the reduction of the prices of the raw materials and of labour, have compelled the banks to withdraw from them a portion of the capital heretofore advanced to them. That aid which has been refused by the banks, has not been obtained from other sources, owing to the loss of individual confidence, from the failures which have recently occurred in some of our principal commercial cities.

An additional cause of the depression of these establishments, may probably be found in the pecuniary embarrassments which have recently affected those countries, with which our commerce has been principally prosecuted.

Their manufactures, for the want of a ready or profitable market at home, have been shipped by the manufacturers to the United States, and, in many instances, sold at a price below their current value at the place of manufacture. Although this practice may, from its nature, be considered temporary or contingent, it is not on that account less injurious in its effects. Uniformity in the demand and price of an article, is highly desirable to the domestic manufacturer.

It is deemed of great importance to give encouragement to our domestic manufactures. In what manner the evils adverted to may be remedied, and how far it may be practicable, in other respects, to afford to them further encouragement, paying due regard to all the other great interests of the nation, is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

The survey of the coast for the establishment of fortifications is now nearly completed, and considerable progress has been made in the collection of materials for the construction of fortifications in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Chesapeake Bay. The works on the eastern bank of the Potomac, below Alexandria, and on the Peapatch in the Delaware, are much advanced; and it is expected that the fortification at the Narrows, in the harbour of New York, will be completed the present year. To derive all the advantages contemplated from these fortifications, it was necessary that they should be judiciously posted and constructed with a view to permanence. The progress hitherto has, therefore, been slow; but as the difficulties, in parts heretofore the least explored and known, are surmounted, it will in future be more rapid. As soon as the survey of the coast is completed, which, it is expected, will be done early in the next spring, the engineers employed in it will proceed to examine, for like purposes, the northern and northwestern frontiers.

The troops intended to occupy a station at the mouth of the St. Peters, on the Mississippi, have established themselves there; and those which were ordered to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, on the Missouri, have ascended that river to the Council Bluffs, where they will remain until next spring, when they will proceed to the place of their destination. I have the satisfaction to state, that this measure has been executed in amity with the Indian tribes, and that it promises to produce, in regard to them, all the advantages which were contemplated by it.

Much progress has likewise been made in the construction of ships of war, and in the collection of timber and other materials for ship building. It is not doubted that our navy will soon be augmented to the number, and placed, in all respects, on the footing provided for by law.

The board, consisting of engineers and naval officers, have not yet made their final report of sites for two naval depots, as instructed according to the resolutions of March 18th and April 20th, 1818, but they have ex-

amined the coast therein designated, and their report is expected in the next month.

For the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean, along the southern Atlantic coast, in the Pacific and Indian oceans, it has been found necessary to maintain a strong naval force, which it seems proper for the present to continue. There is much reason to believe, that if any portion of the squadron heretofore stationed in the Mediterranean should be withdrawn, our intercourse with the powers bordering on that sea would be much interrupted, if not altogether destroyed. Such, too, has been the growth of a spirit of piracy, in the other quarters mentioned, by adventurers from every country, in abuse of the friendly flags which they have assumed, that not to protect our commerce there, would be to abandon it as a prey to their rapacity. Due attention has likewise been paid to the suppression of the slave trade, in compliance with a law of the last session. Orders have been given to the commanders of all our public ships to seize all vessels, navigated under our flag, engaged in that trade, and to bring them in, to be proceeded against in the manner prescribed by that law. It is hoped that these vigorous measures, supported by like acts by other nations, will soon terminate a commerce so disgraceful to the civilized world.

In the execution of the duty imposed by these acts and of a high trust connected with it, it is with deep regret I have to state the loss which has been sustained by the death of Commodore Perry. His gallantry in a brilliant exploit, in the late war, added to the renown of his country. His death is deplored as a national misfortune.

JAMES MONROE.

MR. KING'S SPEECHES.

Jamaica, (L. I.) Nov. 22, 1819.

Gentlemen—Conformably to your request in behalf of the committee appointed by the late meeting in the city, on the business of the Missouri Bill; I have the honour to send to you the substance of two speeches that I delivered in the Senate of the United States, when this bill was under its consideration.

As my notes are imperfect, I may have omitted some remarks made on that occasion, and added others which were not made; the communication however contains the substance of my observations, and present opinions on this important subject. I am particularly anxious not to be misunderstood in this case, never having thought myself at liberty to encourage, or to assent to any measure that would affect the security of property in slaves, or tend to disturb the political adjustment which the constitution has established respecting them. I desire to be considered as still adhering to this reserve; and that the observations which I send you should be construed to refer, and to be confined, to the prohibition of slavery in

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the new states, to be formed beyond the original limits of the United States—a prohibition, which in my judgment Congress has the power to establish, and the omission of which may, as I fear, be productive of most serious consequences.

With great respect and esteem, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

RUFUS KING.

Messrs. John B. Coles, and John T. Irving, chairman and secretary of the committee appointed by the late city meeting respecting the Missouri Bill.

The substance of two speeches on the Missouri Bill—delivered by Mr. King, in the Senate of the United States, during their last session.

The constitution declares, 'that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States.' Under this power Congress has passed laws for the survey and sale of the public lands, for the division of the same into separate territories; and has ordained for each of them a constitution, a plan of temporary government, whereby the civil and political rights of the inhabitants are regulated, and the rights of conscience and other natural rights are protected.

The power to make all needful regulations, includes the power to determine what regulations are needful; and if a regulation prohibiting slavery within any territory of the United States be, as it has been, deemed needful, Congress possesses the power to make the same, and moreover to pass all laws necessary to carry this power into execution.

The territory of Missouri is a portion of Louisiana, which was purchased of France, and belongs to the United States in full dominion; in the language of the constitution, Missouri is their territory, or property, and is subject, like other territories of the United States, to the regulations and temporary government, which has been, or shall be, prescribed by Congress. The clause of the constitution, which grants this power to Congress, is so comprehensive and unambiguous, and its purpose so manifest, that commentary will not render the power, or the object of its establishment, more explicit or plain.

The constitution further provides, that 'new states may be admitted by Congress into the union.' As this power is conferred without limitation, the time, terms, and circumstances of the admission of new states are referred to the discretion of Congress; which may admit new states, but are not obliged to do so—of right no new state can demand admission into the union, unless such demand be founded upon some previous engagement of the United States.

When admitted by Congress into the union, whether by compact or otherwise, the new state becomes entitled to the enjoyment of the same rights, and bound to perform the like duties as the other states; and its citizens will be

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entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

The citizens of each state possess rights, and owe duties that are peculiar to, and arise out of the constitution and laws of the several states. These rights and duties differ from each other in the different states, and among these differences none is so remarkable or important as that which proceeds from the constitution and laws of the several states respecting slavery; the same being permitted in some states, and forbidden in others.

The question respecting slavery in the old thirteen states, had been decided and settled before the adoption of the constitution, which grants no power to Congress to interfere with, or to change what had been so previously settled—the slave states therefore are free to continue or to abolish slavery. Since the year 1808, Congress has possessed power to prohibit, and has prohibited, the further migration or importation of slaves into any of the old thirteen states, and at all times under the constitution has had power to prohibit such migration or importation into any of the new states, or territories of the United States. The constitution contains no express provisions respecting slavery in a new state that may be admitted into the union: every regulation upon this subject, belongs to the power whose consent is necessary to the formation and admission of such state. Congress may therefore make it a condition of the admission of a new state, that slavery shall be forever prohibited within the same. We may with the more confidence pronounce this to be the true construction of the constitution, as it has been so amply confirmed by the past decisions of Congress.

Although the articles of confederation were drawn up and approved by the old Congress in the year 1777, and soon afterwards were ratified by some of the states, their complete ratification did not take place until the year 1781. The states which possessed small and already settled territory, withheld their ratification, in order to obtain from the large states a cession to the United States of a portion of their vacant territory. Without entering into the reasons on which this demand was urged, it is well known that they had an influence on Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia, which states ceded to the United States their respective claims to the territory lying northwest of the river Ohio. This cession was made on the express condition, that the ceded territory should be sold for the common benefit of the United States; that it should be laid out into states, and that the states so laid out should form distinct republican states, and be admitted as members of the federal union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states. Of the four states which made this cession, two permitted, and the other two prohibited, slavery. The United States having in this manner become proprietors of the extensive territory northwest of the river Ohio, although the considerations contained no express provisions upon the subject, Congress, the only representa-

tion of the United States, assumed, as incident to their office, the power to dispose of this territory; and for this purpose, to divide the same into distinct states, to provide for the temporary government of the inhabitants thereof, and for their ultimate admission, as new states, into the federal union.

The ordinance for these purposes, which was passed by Congress in 1787, contains certain articles which are called—'Articles of compact between the original states, and the people and states within the said territory, forever to remain unalterable unless by common consent.' The sixth of those unalterable articles provides, 'that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory.'

The constitution of the United States supplies the defect that existed in the articles of confederation, and has vested Congress, as has been stated, with ample powers on this important subject. Accordingly, the ordinance of 1787, passed by the old Congress, was ratified and confirmed by an act of the new Congress, during their first session under the constitution.

The state of Virginia, which ceded to the United States her claims to this territory, consented by her delegates in the old Congress, to this ordinance. Not only Virginia, but North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, by the unanimous votes of their delegates in the old Congress, approved of the ordinance of 1787, by which slavery is forever abolished in the territory northwest of the river Ohio. Without the votes of these states, the ordinance could not have passed; and there is no recollection of an opposition from any of these states, to the act of confirmation passed under the actual constitution. Slavery had long been established in these states—the evil was felt in their institutions, laws, and habits, and could not easily or at once be abolished. But these votes, so honourable to these states, satisfactorily demonstrate their unwillingness to permit the extension of slavery into the new states which might be admitted by Congress into the union.

The states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, on the northwest of the river Ohio, have been admitted by Congress into the union, on the condition and conformably to the articles of compact, contained in the ordinance of 1787, and by which it is declared that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states.

Although Congress possess the power of making the exclusion of slavery a part or condition of the act admitting a new state into the union, they may in special cases, and for sufficient reasons, forbear to exercise this power. Thus Kentucky and Vermont were admitted as new states into the union, without making the abolition of slavery the condition of their admission. In Vermont slavery never existed; her laws excluding the same. Kentucky was formed out of, and settled by Virginia, and the inhabitants of Kentucky equally with those of Virginia, by fair interpretation of the constitution, were exempt from all such interference of Congress, as

might disturb or impair the security of their property in slaves. The western territory of North Carolina and Georgia having been partially granted and erected under the authority of these states, before the cession thereof to the United States, and these states being original parties to the constitution which recognizes the existence of slavery, no measure restraining slavery could be applied by Congress to this territory. But to remove all doubts on this head, it was made a condition of the cession of this territory to the United States, that the ordinance of 1787, except the sixth article thereof, respecting slavery, should be applied to the same; and that the sixth article should not be so applied. Accordingly, the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, comprehending the territory ceded to the United States by North Carolina and Georgia, have been admitted, as new states, into the union, without a provision by which slavery shall be excluded from the same. According to this abstract of the proceedings of Congress in the admission of new states into the union, of the eight new states within the original limits of the United States, four have been admitted without an article excluding slavery; three have been admitted on the condition that slavery should be excluded; and one admitted without such condition. In the four first cases, Congress were restrained from exercising the power to exclude slavery; in the next three they exercised this power; and in the last, it was unnecessary to do so, slavery being excluded by the state constitution.

The province of Louisiana, soon after its cession to the United States, was divided into two territories, comprehending such parts thereof as were contiguous to the river Mississippi, being the only parts of the province that were inhabited. The foreign language, laws, customs and manners of the inhabitants, required the immediate and cautious attention of Congress, which, instead of extending in the first instance to these territories the ordinance of 1787, ordained special regulations for the government of the same. These regulations were from time to time revised and altered, as observation and experience shewed to be expedient, and as was deemed most likely to encourage and promote those changes which would soon qualify the inhabitants for self government, and admission into the union. When the United States took possession of the province of Louisiana in 1804, it was estimated to contain fifty thousand white inhabitants, forty thousand slaves, and two thousand free persons of colour.* More than four-fifths of the whites, and all the slaves, except about thirteen hundred, inhabited New Orleans and the adjacent terri-

tory; the residue, consisting of less than ten thousand whites, and about thirteen hundred slaves, were dispersed throughout the country now included in the Arkansaw and Missouri territories. The greater part of the thirteen hundred slaves were in the Missouri territory; some of them having been removed thither from the old French settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, after the passing of the ordinance of 1787, by which slavery in those settlements was abolished.

In 1812, the territory of New Orleans, to which the ordinance of 1787, with the exception of certain parts thereof, had been previously extended, was permitted by Congress to form a constitution and state government, and admitted as a new state into the union, by the name of Louisiana. The acts of Congress for these purposes, in addition to sundry important provisions respecting rivers and public lands, which are declared to be irrevocable, unless by common consent, annex other terms and conditions whereby it is established, not only that the constitution of Louisiana should be republican, but that it should contain the fundamental principles of religious liberty, that it should secure to the citizens the trial by jury in all criminal cases, and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, according to the constitution of the United States; and after its admission into the union, that the laws which Louisiana might pass, should be promulgated, its records of every description preserved, and its judicial and legislative proceedings conducted in the language in which the laws and judicial proceedings of the United States are published and conducted.

Guards so friendly to the rights of the citizens, and restraints on the state sovereignty so material to the gradual confirmation and security of their liberties, demonstrate the extensive and parental power of Congress; powers, the wise exercise of which, on this occasion, is not confined to the inhabitants of the new state, but reaches and protects the rights of the citizens of all the states. The habits of the people, and the number of slaves by whom the labour of the territory of New Orleans was performed, were doubtless the reason for the omission of an article in the act of admission, by which slavery should be excluded from the new state.

Having annexed these new and extraordinary conditions to the act for the admission of Louisiana into the union, Congress may, if they shall deem it expedient, annex the like conditions to the act for the admission of Missouri; and, moreover, as in the case of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, provide, by an article for that purpose, that slavery shall not exist within the same.

Admitting this construction of the constitution, it is alleged that the power by which Congress excluded slavery from the states northwest of the river Ohio, is suspended in respect to the states that may be formed in the province of Louisiana. The article of the treaty referred to declares: "That the inha-

* This estimate was too high, as by the census of 1810, the whole province was found to contain only 97,000 inhabitants, viz. 51,000 whites, 37,000 slaves, 8,000 free persons of colour.

bitants of the territory shall be incorporated in the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and, in the mean time, they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

Although there is a want of precision in the article, its scope and meaning cannot be misunderstood. It constitutes a stipulation by which the United States engage that the inhabitants of Louisiana should be formed into a state or states, and as soon as the provisions of the constitution permit, that they shall be admitted as new states into the union, on the footing of the other states; and before such admission, and during their territorial government, that they shall be maintained and protected by Congress in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The first clause of this stipulation will be executed by the admission of Missouri as a new state into the union, as such admission will impart to the inhabitants of Missouri "all the rights, advantages and immunities," which citizens of the United States derive from the constitution thereof. These rights may be denominated federal rights, are uniform throughout the union, and are common to all its citizens. But the rights derived from the constitution and laws of the states, which may be denominated state rights, in many particulars differ from each other. Thus, while the federal rights of the citizens of Massachusetts and Virginia are the same, their state rights are however dissimilar, slavery being forbidden in one, and permitted in the other state. This difference arises out of the constitutions and laws of the two states, in the same manner as the difference in the rights of the citizens of these states to vote for representatives in Congress arises out of the state laws and constitution. In Massachusetts, every person of lawful age, and possessing property, of any sort, of the value of two hundred dollars, may vote for representatives to Congress. In Virginia, no person can vote for representatives to Congress unless he be a freeholder. As the admission of a new state into the union confers upon its citizens only the rights denominated federal, and as these are common to the citizens of all the states, as well of those in which slavery is prohibited, as of those in which it is allowed, it follows that the prohibition of slavery in Missouri will not impair the federal rights of its citizens, and that such prohibition is not restrained by the clause of the treaty which has been cited.

The remaining clause of the article is expressly confined to the period of the territorial government of Missouri, to the time between the first occupation of the country by the United States, and its admission as a new state into the union. Whatever may be its import, it has no reference nor application to the terms of the admission, or to the condition of Missouri after it shall have been admit-

ted into the union. The clause is, but the common formula of treaties, by which inhabited territories are passed from one sovereign to another; its object is to secure such inhabitants the permanent or temporary enjoyment of their former liberties, prosperity, and religion; leaving to the new sovereign full power to make such regulations respecting the same, as may be thought expedient, provided these regulations be not incompatible with the stipulated security.

What were the liberties under the French government, the enjoyment of which under ours called for protection, we are unable to explain; as the United States have no power to prevent the free enjoyment of the Catholic religion, no stipulation against their interference to disturb it could be necessary; and the only part of the clause whose object can be readily understood is that relative to "property."

As all nations do not permit slavery, the term property, in its common and universal meaning, does not include or describe slaves. In treaties therefore between nations, and especially in those of the United States, whenever stipulations respecting slaves were to be made, the word "negroes," or "slaves," have been employed, and the omission of these words in this clause, increases the uncertainty whether by the term property, *slaves* were intended to be excluded. But admitting that such was the intention of the parties, the stipulation is not only temporary, but extends no further than the property actually possessed by the inhabitants of Missouri, when it was first occupied by the United States. Property since acquired by them, and property acquired or possessed by the new inhabitants of Missouri, has in each case been acquired under the laws of the United States, and not during and under the laws of the province of Louisiana. Should therefore the future introduction of slaves into Missouri be forbidden, the feelings of the citizens would soon become reconciled to their exclusion, and the inconsiderable number of slaves owned by the inhabitants at the date of the cession of Louisiana would be emancipated or sent for sale into states where slavery exists.

It is further objected, that the article of the act of admission into the union, by which slavery should be excluded from Missouri, would be nugatory, as the new state in virtue of its sovereignty would be at liberty to revoke its consent, and annul the article by which slavery should be excluded.

Such revocation would be contrary to the obligations of good faith, which enjoins the observance of our engagements—it would be repugnant to the principles upon which government itself is founded. Sovereignty in every lawful government is a limited power, and can do only what it is lawful to do—sovereigns, like individuals, are bound by their engagements, and have no moral power to break them. Treaties between nations repose on this principle. If the new state can

revoke and annul an article constructed between itself and the United States, by which slavery is excluded from it, it may revoke and annul any other article of the compact; it may, for example, annul the article respecting public lands, and in virtue of its sovereignty, assume the right to tax and to sell the lands of the United States.

There is yet a more satisfactory answer to this objection. The judicial power of the United States is coextensive with their legislative power, and every question arising under the constitution or laws of the United States, is cognizable by the judiciary thereof. Should the new state rescind any of the articles of compact contained in the act of admission into the union, that, for example, by which slavery is excluded; and should pass a law authorizing slavery, the judiciary of the United States, on proper application, would immediately deliver from bondage, any person detained as a slave in said state; and in like manner, in all instances affecting individuals, the judiciary might be employed to defeat every attempt to violate the constitution and laws of the United States.

If Congress possess the power to exclude slavery from Missouri, it still remains to be shown that they ought to do so. The examination of this branch of the subject, for obvious reasons, is attended with peculiar difficulty, and cannot be made without passing over arguments which to some of us might appear to be decisive, but the use of which, in this place, would call up feelings, the influence of which would disturb, if not defeat, the impartial consideration of the subject.

Slavery unhappily exists within the United States. Enlightened men in the states where it is permitted, and every one out of them, regret its existence among us, and seek for the means of limiting and of mitigating it. The first introduction of slaves is not imputable to the present generation, nor even to their ancestors. Before the year 1642, the trade and ports of the colonies were open to foreigners equally as those of the mother country, and as early as 1620, a few years only after the planting of the colony of Virginia, and the same year in which the first settlement was made in the old colony of Plymouth, a cargo of negroes was brought into, and sold as slaves in Virginia by a foreign ship.* From this beginning the importation of slaves was continued for nearly two centuries. To her honour, Virginia, while a colony, opposed the importation of slaves, and was the first state to prohibit the same, by a law passed for this purpose in 1773, thirty years before the general prohibition enacted by Congress in 1808. The laws and customs of the states in which slavery has existed for so long a period, must have had their influence on the opinions and habits of the citizens, which ought not to be disregarded on the present occasion.

Omitting therefore the arguments which

might be urged, and which by all of us might be deemed conclusive, were this an original question, the reasons which shall be offered in favour of the interposition of the power of Congress to exclude slavery from Missouri, shall be only such as respect the common defence, the general welfare, and that wise administration of the government which as far as possible may produce the impartial distribution of benefits and burdens throughout the union.

By the articles of confederation, the common treasury was to be supplied by the several states according to the value of the lands, with the houses and improvements thereon, within the respective states. From the difficulty in making this valuation, the old Congress were unable to apportion the requisitions for the supply of the general treasury, and obliged the states to propose an alteration of the articles of confederation, by which the whole number of free persons, with three-fifths of the slaves, contained in the respective states, should become the rule of such apportionment of the taxes. A majority of the states approved of this alteration, but some of them disagreed to the same; and for want of a practicable rule of apportionment, the whole of the requisitions of taxes made by Congress during the revolutionary war, and afterwards, up to the establishment of the constitution of the United States, were merely provisional, and subject to revision and correction as soon as such rules should be adopted. The several states were credited for their supplies, and charged for the advances made to them by Congress; but no settlement of their accounts could be made, for the want of a rule of apportionment, until the establishment of the constitution.

When the general convention that formed the constitution took this subject into their consideration, the whole question was once more examined, and while it was agreed that all contributions to the common treasury should be made according to the ability of the several states to furnish the same, the old difficulty recurred in agreeing upon a rule whereby such ability should be ascertained, there being no simple standard by which the ability of individuals to pay taxes can be ascertained. A diversity in the selection of taxes has been deemed requisite to their equalization. Between communities, this difficulty is less considerable, and although the rule of relative members would not accurately measure the relative wealth of nations, in states in the circumstances of the United States, whose institutions, laws, and employments, are so much alike, the rule of number is probably as nearly equal, as any other simple and practicable rule can be expected to be, (though between the old and new states its equity is defective,) these considerations, added to the approbation which had already been given to the rule, by a majority of the states, induced the convention to agree, that direct taxes should be apportioned among the states, according to the whole number of free

* Stith's History of Virginia.

persons, and three-fifths of the slaves which they might respectively contain.

The rule for the apportionment of taxes, is not necessarily the most equitable rule for the apportionment of representatives among the states;—property must not be disregarded in the composition of the first rule, but frequently is overlooked in the establishment of the second; a rule which might be approved in respect to taxes, would be disapproved in respect to representatives, as one individual possessing twice as much property as another, might be required to pay double the taxes of such other; but no man has two votes to another's one; rich or poor, each has but a single vote in the choice of representatives.

In the dispute between England and the colonies, the latter denied the right of the former to tax them, because they were not represented in the English parliament. They contended, that according to the law of the land, taxation and representation were inseparable. The rule of taxation being agreed upon by the convention, it is possible that the maxim with which we successfully opposed the claim of England, may have had an influence in procuring the adoption of the same rule for the apportionment of representatives; the true meaning, however, of this principle of the English constitution, is, that a colony or district is not to be taxed which is not represented; not that its number or representatives shall be ascertained by its quota of taxes. If three-fifths of the slaves are virtually represented, or their owners obtain a disproportionate power in legislation, and in the appointment of the President of the United States, why should not other property be virtually represented, and its owners obtain a like power in legislation, and in the choice of the president?—Property is not confined to slaves, but exists in houses, stores, ships, capital in trade, and manufactures. To secure to the owners of property in slaves, greater political power than is allowed to the owners of other and equivalent property, seems to be contrary to our theory of the equality of personal rights, inasmuch as the citizens of some states thereby become entitled to other and greater political power, than the citizens of other states. The present house of representatives consists of one hundred and eighty-one members, which are apportioned among the states in a ratio of one representative for every thirty-five thousand federal numbers, which are ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of the slaves. According to the last census, the whole number of slaves within the United States was 1,191,364, which entitled the states possessing the same, to twenty representatives, and twenty presidential electors more than they would be entitled to, were the slaves excluded. By the last census, Virginia contained 582,104 free persons, and 392,518 slaves. In any of the states where slavery is excluded, 582,104 free persons would be entitled to elect only sixteen repre-

sentatives; while in Virginia, 582,104 free persons, by the addition of three-fifths of her slaves, become entitled to elect, and do in fact elect, twenty-three representatives, being seven additional ones on account of her slaves. Thus, while 35,000 free persons are requisite to elect one representative in a state where slavery is prohibited, 25,559 free persons in Virginia, may and do elect a representative—so that five free persons in Virginia, have as much power in the choice of representatives to Congress, and in the appointment of presidential electors, as seven free persons in any of the states in which slavery does not exist.

This inequality in the apportionment of representatives was not misunderstood at the adoption of the constitution—but as no one anticipated the fact that the whole of the revenue of the United States would be derived from indirect taxes, (which cannot be supposed to spread themselves over the several states according to the rule for the apportionment of direct taxes,) but it was believed that a part of the contribution to the common treasury, would be apportioned among the states by the rule for the apportionment of representatives. The states in which slavery is prohibited, ultimately, though with reluctance, acquiesced in the disproportionate number of representatives and electors that was secured to the slave holding states; the concession was, at the time, believed to be a great one, and has proved to have been the greatest which was made to secure the adoption of the constitution.

Great, however, as this concession was, it was definite, and its full extent was comprehended. It was a settlement between the original thirteen states. The considerations arising out of their actual condition, their past connexion, and the obligation which all felt to promote a reformation in the federal government, were peculiar to the time and to the parties; and are not applicable to the new states, which Congress may now be willing to admit into the union.

The equality of rights, which includes an equality of burdens, is a vital principle in our theory of government, and its jealous preservation is the best security of public and individual freedom; the departure from this principle in the disproportionate power and influence, allowed to the slave holding states, was a necessary sacrifice to the establishment of the constitution. The effect of this concession has been obvious in the preponderance which it has given to the slave holding states, over the other states. Nevertheless, it is an ancient settlement, and faith and honour stand pledged not to disturb it. But the extension of this disproportionate power to the new states would be unjust and odious. The states whose power would be abridged, and whose burdens would be increased by the measure, cannot be expected to consent to it; and we may hope that the other states are too magnanimous to insist on it.

The existence of slavery impairs the indus-

try and the power of a nation; and it does so in proportion to the multiplication of its slaves; where the manual labour of a country is performed by slaves, labour dishonours the hands of freemen.

If her labourers be slaves, Missouri may be able to pay money taxes, but will be unable to raise soldiers, or to recruit seamen, and experience seems to have proved that manufactures do not prosper where the artificers are slaves. In case of foreign war or domestic insurrection, misfortunes from which no state are exempt, and against which all should be seasonably prepared, slaves not only do not add to, but diminish the faculty of self defence; instead of increasing the public strength, they lessen it, by the whole number of free persons whose place they occupy, increased by the number of freemen that may be employed as guards over them.

The motives for the admission of new states into the union, are the extension of the principles of our free government, the equalizing of the public burdens, and the consolidation of the power of the confederated nation. Unless these objects be promoted by the admission of new states, no such admission can be expedient or justified.

The states in which slavery already exists are contiguous to each other; they are also the portion of the United States nearest to the European colonies in the West Indies; colonies whose future condition can hardly be regarded as problematical. If Missouri, and the other states that may be formed to the west of the river Mississippi, are permitted to introduce and establish slavery, the repose, if not the security, of the union may be endangered; all the states south of the river Ohio and west of Pennsylvania and Delaware, will be peopled with slaves, and the establishment of new states west of the river Mississippi, will serve to extend slavery instead of freedom over that boundless region.

Such increase of the states, whatever other interests it may promote, will be sure to add nothing to the security of the public liberties; and can hardly fail hereafter to require and produce a change in our government.

On the other hand, if slavery be excluded from Missouri, and the other new states which may be formed in this quarter, not only will the slave markets be broken up, and the principles of freedom be extended and strengthened, but an exposed and important frontier will present a barrier, which will check and keep back foreign assailants, who may be as brave, and, as we hope, will be as free as ourselves. Surrounded in this manner by connected bodies of freemen, the states where slavery is allowed will be made more secure against domestic insurrection, and less liable to be affected by what may take place in the neighbouring colonies.

It ought not to be forgotten, that the first and main object of the negotiation which led to the acquisition of Louisiana, was the free navigation of the Mississippi; a river that forms the sole passage from the western states

to the ocean. This navigation, although of general benefit, has been always valued and desired, as of peculiar advantage to the western states; whose demands to obtain it, were neither equivocal nor unreasonable. But with the river Mississippi, by a sort of coercion, we acquired by good or ill fortune, as our future measures shall determine, the whole province of Louisiana. As this acquisition was made at the common expense, it is very fairly urged that the advantages to be derived from it should also be common. This it is said will not happen, if slavery be excluded from Missouri, as the citizens of states where slavery is permitted will be shut out, and none but citizens of states where slavery is prohibited can become inhabitants of Missouri.

But this consequence will not arise from the proposed exclusion of slavery; the citizens of states in which slavery is allowed, like all other citizens, will be free to become inhabitants of the Missouri, in like manner as they have become inhabitants of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in which slavery is forbidden. The exclusion of slaves from Missouri, will not therefore operate unequally among the citizens of the United States. The constitution provides, "that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens of the several states"—every citizen may therefore remove from one to another state, and there enjoy the rights and immunities of its citizens. The proposed provision excludes slaves, not citizens, whose rights it will not, and cannot impair.

Besides, there is nothing new or peculiar in a provision for the exclusion of slavery; it has been established in the states northwest of the river Ohio, and has existed from the beginning in the old states where slavery is forbidden. The citizens of states where slavery is allowed, may become inhabitants of Missouri, but cannot hold slaves there, or in any other state where slavery is prohibited. As well might the laws prohibiting slavery in the old states become the subject of complaint, as the proposed exclusion of slavery in the Missouri; but there is no foundation for such complaint in either case. It is further urged, that the admission of slaves into Missouri would be limited to the slaves who are already within the United States; that their health and comfort would be promoted by their dispersion, and that their numbers would be the same, whether they remain confined to the states where slavery exists, or are dispersed over the new states that may be admitted into the union.

That none but domestic slaves would be introduced into Missouri, and the other new and frontier states, is most fully disproved by the thousands of fresh slaves which, in violation of our laws, are annually imported into Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

We may renew our efforts, and enact new laws with heavier penalties, against the importation of slaves: the revenue cutters may more diligently watch our shores, and the naval force may be employed on the coast of

Africa, and on the ocean to break up the slave trade—but these means will not put an end to it; so long as markets are open for the purchase of slaves, so long they will be supplied; and so long as we permit the existence of slavery in our new and frontier states, so long slave markets will exist. The plea of humanity is equally inadmissible; since no one, who has ever witnessed the experiment, will believe that the condition of slaves is made better by the breaking up and separation of their families, nor by their removal from the old states to the new ones; and the objection to the provision of the bill, excluding slavery from Missouri, is equally applicable to the like prohibition of the old states; these should be revoked, in order that the slaves, now confined to certain states, may, for their health, and comfort, and multiplication, be spread over the whole union.

That the condition of slaves within the United States has been improved, and the rigours of slavery mitigated by the establishment and progress of our free governments, is a fact that imparts consolation to all who have taken pains to inquire concerning it. The disproportionate increase of free persons of colour can be explained only by the supposition, that the practice of emancipation is gaining ground; a practice which there is reason to believe would become more general, if a plan could be devised by which the comforts and morals of the emancipated slaves could be satisfactorily provided for. For it is not to be doubted that public opinion every where, and especially in the oldest state of the union, is less favourable than formerly to the existence of slavery. Generous and enlightened men, in the states where slavery exists, have discovered much solicitude on the subject; a desire has been manifested that emancipation might be encouraged by the establishment of a place or colony, without the United States, to which free persons of colour might be removed; and great efforts for that purpose are making with corresponding anxiety for their success. Those persons, humane and enlightened as they are known to be, surely will be unwilling to promote the removal of the slaves from the old states to the new ones, where their comforts will not be multiplied, and where their fetters may be rivetted forever.

Slavery cannot exist in Missouri without the consent of Congress; the question may, therefore, be considered, in certain lights, as a new one, it being the first instance in which an inquiry respecting slavery, in a case so free from the influence of the ancient laws, usages and manners of the country, has come before the Senate.

The territory of Missouri is beyond our ancient limits, and the inquiry whether slavery shall exist there, is open to many of the arguments that might be employed, had slavery never existed within the United States. It is a question of no ordinary importance. Freedom and slavery are the parties which stand this day before the Senate; and upon its de-

cision the empire of the one or the other will be established in the new state which we are about to admit into the union.

If slavery be permitted in Missouri, with the climate, and soil, and in the circumstances of this territory, what hopes can be entertained that it will ever be prohibited in any of the new states that will be formed in the immense region west of the Mississippi. Will the co-extensive establishment of slavery and of new states throughout this region, lessen the danger of domestic insurrection, or of foreign aggression? Will this manner of executing the great trust of admitting new states into the union, contribute to assimilate our manners and usages, to increase our mutual affection and confidence, and to establish that equality of benefits and burdens, which constitutes the true basis of our strength and union? Will the militia of the nation, which must furnish our soldiers and seamen, increase as slaves increase; will the actual disproportion in the military service of the nation be thereby diminished; a disproportion that will be, as it has been, readily borne, as between the original states, because it arises out of their compact of union, but which may become a badge of inferiority, if required for the protection of those who, being free to choose, persist in the establishment of maxims, the inevitable effect of which will deprive them of the power to contribute to the common defence, and even of the ability to protect themselves? There are limits within which our federal system must stop; no one has supposed that it could be indefinitely extended—we are now about to pass our original boundary; if this can be done without affecting the principles of our free government, it can be accomplished only by the most vigilant attention to plant, cherish and sustain the principles of liberty in the new states that may be formed beyond our ancient limits: with our utmost caution in this respect, it may still be justly apprehended that the general government must be made stronger as we become more extended.

But if, instead of freedom, slavery is to prevail, and spread as we extend our dominion, can any reflecting man fail to see the necessity of giving to the general government greater powers, to enable it to afford the protection that will be demanded of it; powers that will be difficult to control, and which may prove fatal to the public liberties?

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